1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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PREFACE

The Havasupai are a small and obscure group of Yuman-speaking Indians living in the neighborhood of the Grand Canyon in north-central Arizona. Our earliest knowledge of them dates from their discovery in 1776 by Padre Francisco Garcés. But they have remained so secluded in their inaccessible canyon home, that we know very little of them even today. There are brief descriptions resulting from the visits of Ives' party in 1858, Coues in 1881, and of James and Curtis' parties at various times. Cushing, who spent a few days with them in 1881, has described *The Nation of the Willows* at somewhat greater length. Their cultural position still remaining in doubt, I was sent by the American Museum in 1918 for a general ethnographic study. Some parts of this have already been published as *The Havasupai Indians of Cataract Canon* (1918), *Havasupai Days* (1920), *Havasupai (Yuman) Texts* (1924), and *The Association Test as a Method of Defining Religious Concepts* (1927). With the exception of the last two, this material appears again in the present paper.

My first visit to the Havasupai in August, 1918, was on behalf of the American Museum, for whom an ethnological collection was made. The second trip (August–November, 1919) was made as William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellow of Columbia University, with the Museum's further assistance. A third trip (August–September, 1921) was aided, like the second, by the Southwest Society of New York. I am also under obligations to my wife, Erna Gunther, for some tales and incidental material collected in 1921, to Doctor Paul M. Standley and Doctor William A. Setchell for plant determinations, to Miss Edna M. Fisher and Doctor C. D. Shane for determinations of snakes and stars, respectively, to many anthropologist friends for notes, and to Doctor Herbert E. Bolton for the use of a manuscript on the Caddoan Hasinai.

Much of the old life is still open to observation. Social life, religion, and to only a lesser extent, the material culture, of these people is practically intact. Yet let me add for the timorous souls who fear that the inroads made by white culture may be underestimated, that I have used the historical present throughout in my description only as a matter of convenience. My principal informant, Sinyella, was an energetic and well-informed old man, aged 71. So much material is directly autobiographical, that it would have been possible to present this sketch as an account of his life. My interpreters, Jess Cheekapanyega and Mark

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Strings of jinglers or rattlers are hung from the belts of White Mountain Apaches and Havasupai women. They are also referred to in myths of the Shivwits Paiute, Wind River Shoshoni, and Comanche.[1]

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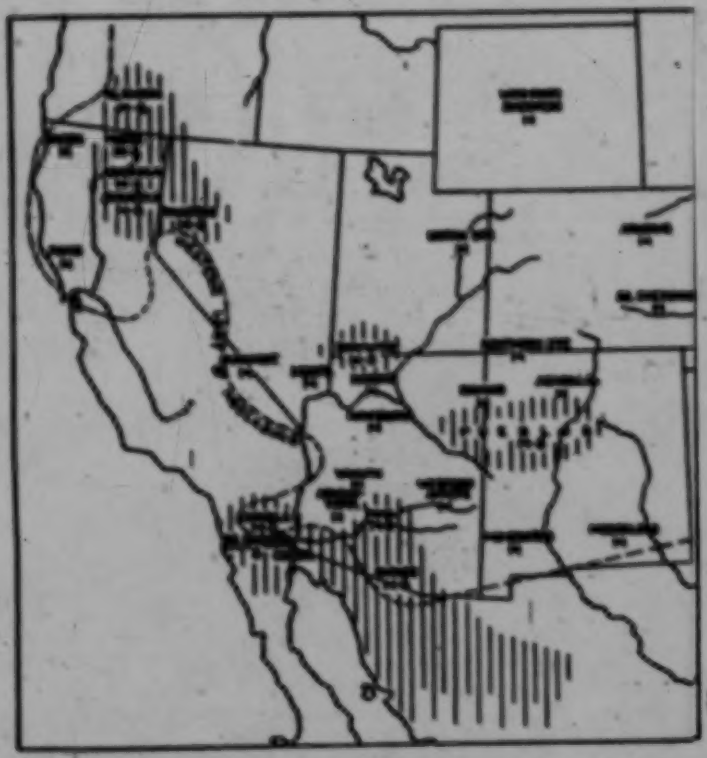

Fig. 68. The Distribution of Moccasins and Sandals in the Southwest, Basin, and California Areas. Shaded areas denote sandals.

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[illegible]

The moccasin is widely used in the Southwest but there is reason to believe that, like the Plains shirt and woman's dress, it is of recent introduction. At least the Pueblos, like the Pima and Papago, used sandals at the Spanish advent.

Moccasins are everywhere of the hard sole, two-piece variety. In the area at large they have been noted for the Wind River Shoshoni

[1] Lowie, pp. 149; St. Clair and Lowie, 178.

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SOCIAL RELATIONS

Family Groups

The basis of Havasupai life is the family as we know it. There are no clans nor gentes, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. There is nothing even resembling the Mohave custom of group names for patrilineally related women. The individual recognizes cohesion only to his immediate relatives; there are no other definite social or ceremonial groups. 592 [614] [551]

The family is a socio-economic group comprising parents, children, and unattached relatives of close degree. At the same time the family forms part of a larger group, that is, the husband's or wife's parents' families with whom they live. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated with land inheritance on the one hand, and with temporary matrilocal residence on the other. That is, we find groups of relatives working together and living near each other, but within which each married couple and their progeny are regarded as a distinct unit. 592 596 [423] [591]

Present-day observations on family life suffer from an anomalous condition, a shortage of marriageable women. Many families lack women competent to manage household affairs, so that men and children are forced to depend on some female relative. This has intensified the larger family groupings, so that a number of related families have centered, as it were, around the hearth of their woman cook. The following table shows the distribution of population. The ages are approximations adapted from the agency records; they are fairly accurate up to twenty-five years. I have not attempted to round off the five year periods. [178] 162

The total population is 177, with an excess of 19 males. As near as I can place the excess it lies between the ages of twenty and forty-five where there are twice as many men as women. Below and above these limits the numbers are equal. I gather that this deficiency in women developed during the last two decades. In fact, Coues found approximately normal conditions in 1881, 60 men and 53 women.[1] On its face the phenomenon is recent; otherwise, whatever the cause has in childbirth suggests itself—there would be a deficiency of older women as well.[2] [175]

[1] Coues, 345.

[2] Old women are more numerous than old men, but the numbers are too small to determine whether there is really a shortage of older women. Hrdlička found on the basis of the Twelfth Census (1900) that there was an excess of females over males after the fifty-fifth year, among all Indians, and after the seventy-fifth year, among native whites of native parents ((6), 39-41). The Havasupai sex ratio is 121.0 males to 100 females; in 1905 it was 148, in 1906, 161. The Thirteenth Census (1910) gives abnormally high sex ratio in favor of the males for all the Colorado River tribes

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422 Other property consists of houses, horses, dress, weapons and tools, and the immaterial possessions, shamanistic materials and chieftainship. 423 342 So far as houses may be conceived as individually owned, they belong to the male head, since he can send his wife (and children?) away. But nothing else is possible, since the field in which it stands belongs to him. [462] [768] At least all the heavier work of house building is done by the men. The house is burned after the death of an inmate.

422 Horses and cattle are owned and herded by men alone. They have had a fair number of these ever since Spanish days: Garcés found them [462] plentifully supplied with live stock in 1776.[1] Two or three good riding [775] horses are killed on their owner's death; others are given away. Saddles [769] are often burned or destroyed, sometimes being left on the horse when it is killed.

Personal possessions are not numerous. Men and women own their blankets and clothing, with perhaps a gala dress apiece. A man owns his weapons, tools, some buckskins, and perhaps a mask and charm or two; a woman her household utensils, pots, baskets, and field tools. In other words, each owns the articles peculiar to his sex. Husband and wife own and dispose of their possessions independently. I have never seen either [593] interfere with the other's transaction when selling specimens to me: 422 advice was, however, sometimes asked and acted on. Children own little 432 or no property, a condition which struck both Cushing[2] and myself as 858 being sharply in contrast with that at Zuñi. For instance, when buying a small burden basket used solely by a little girl, her mother set the price. Laying this simply to the girl's bashfulness, I offered the coin to her Zuñi-fashion, but her mother objected, claiming it as hers. To test this, I attempted to buy a similar basket from Jess's little daughter. This had been made and presented to her by her paternal grandmother. But the bargain was struck by her parents, although they turned the purchase money over to her. Perhaps boys are somewhat more favorably situated, since they freely sold their bows and arrows when I met them hunting in sport. These weapons were all products of their elders.

428 A dying man states his wishes respecting the disposal of his posses- [769] sions. This includes land, although the succession to this is rather predetermined. To be sure, most of his choicest belongings, clothing, weapons, horse, etc., are burned or buried with him. Such articles as are permitted to remain are inherited by his children or by members of his family. A woman's possessions go to her children or to her own family.

[1] Coues, 287 et seq.
[2] Cushing, (a), 351.

2:Hiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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648 forced to go? Who always went when the Indian had land that the white man coveted?

The white men had plenty of cash with which to allay the Havasupai's fears. They bought alfalfa from them for their horses, [482] paying five dollars for the load a woman could carry suspended from a strap across her forehead. They gave a silver dollar to those who posed for a picture. But this proved little compensation for the Indians, who could only stand by and watch as heavy machinery rumbled in along the widened Lee Canyon trail, and old Mooney began to lose her wild timbered beauty. This trail, these falls, everything here had belonged to the Havasupai since the day the gods had led them into the canyon. Lanoman, gray-faced and angry, went about his duties. The foreign men were desecrating the "Mother of the Waters," sacred to his wife and those other dead whose spirits could sometimes be seen rising and falling through the heavy spray.

The Indians feared these invaders as they had never feared the Yavapai or the Apache. They could meet the latter and deal with them as they deserved, but these white men—working like ants, building roads, making permanent improvements—had taken possession without need of battle. Mr. Ewing wrote that the contract had been negotiated in Washington; he was powerless to interfere. And in increasing numbers the white men continued to come.

The Havasupai recalled the story the Navaho had told them of how the white men had elbowed them out of their ancient home. When, in retaliation, they killed those who had stolen their hunting ground, the Great Father in Washington sent soldiers with fire-sticks, who punished the Navaho, and took the guilty to some far place.

648 The people again gave thought to the warning of the Chemehuevi Indian who had come to them as an evangelist, reminding 175 them of the old ways and warning them of the penalties of forgetting the customs of their ancestors. Mr. James, in *Indians of the Painted Desert Region*, recorded the Chemehuevi's impassioned appeal to the Havasupai at a dance where an agent from

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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the Indian Office had appeared to persuade the Indians, by the offer of farming tools, to send their children to the Fort Mohave Indian School. At that time there was no school in the canyon. The Chemehuevi had been song leader at the dance, and made an eloquent appeal to the people to reject the agent's offer. He had cried:

> Don't send your children to the school of the white man. If you do, they will grow up with the heart of the white man, and the place of the Havasupai will know them no more. Your tribe will be broken up, and then the white man will come and take possession of your canyon home where the stream ever flows and sings to the waving willows by its side. He will rob you of your corn fields and peach orchards. No longer will the place where the bodies of your ancestors were burned be sacred to you; your hunting grounds are now all occupied by him; the deer and the antelope have nearly disappeared before his rifle, and he is hungry to possess the few things you still have left. This offer is a secret plot against you. He thinks if he cannot drive you out he will seduce you out, and this school is the offer he makes to you, so that he can get your children into his hands. There he will teach them to make fun of you; to despise your method of living; your houses, your food, your dress, your customs, your dances will all be ridiculed by him, and so you will lose the favor of Those Above, and you yourselves will soon die and your name and tribe be forgotten.

And now the Havasupai believed that his prophecy was being fulfilled. The white men had come as predicted and taken over their canyon where the stream ever flowed. Soon they would be a homeless people.

Manakadja was deeply troubled. His tribesmen had elected him to his high office because he preached the doctrine that the white man and the Indian cannot live on the same ground; each must have his own, and there can be no encroaching, one on the other. The chief had decreed that no Havasupai blood should mingle with that of the white people, and never in the history of the tribe had there been such a marriage or mingling of blood.

But in the case of these intruders Manakadja was as helpless as any of us; so again the security of the People of the Blue Water rested in the laps of their gods.

The Havasupai

IN Cataract Canyon, within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, nearly three thousand feet below the land above, live the Havasupai Indians. Hemmed in by towering walls of red sandstone the acreage of their reservation is very small but its fertility, spectacular scenery, and unusual setting as a habitation for man ranks it as one of the most remarkable places in Arizona. 131

The original reservation of 1880 was a tract of land about five miles wide and twelve long surrounding the inhabited part of Cataract Canyon. Two years later the size was reduced to the irregular strip of canyon bottom land extending a mile and a half north and south of the Indian settlement, an area of 518.6 acres. The population is also small. The Indian Bureau census of 1939 shows two hundred thirteen members, a slight increase in recent years. The tribe has probably never numbered more than three hundred. 161 [174]

Cataract Canyon is almost semi-tropical. The high plateaus of the surrounding country have a temperate climate but the village, shut in as it is, averages from ten to twelve degrees warmer the year round. In summer it is very hot, the temperature often reaching one hundred and twelve degrees. 132

Through the canyon's gorge runs Cataract Creek which plunges over precipitous cliffs forming several beautiful waterfalls. Mooney Falls, the largest is nearly two hundred feet high. Passing through miles of limestone formations the water is heavily impregnated with calcium and magnesium carbonates, calcium sulphate, and magnesium chloride. These mineral salts in solution over a period of time, coat everything they touch with a stony deposit and impart a light tinge to the water which imparts a light blue or greenish blue to the creek. Where the water gathers in pools at the foot of the falls, it is a fascinating turquoise color. 133 135

Taking their name from the water of the creek, these Indians have become known as the blue-water people (Havasu, blue or green water; pai, people). 101

The Havasupai speak a language of the Yuman stock, and are closely allied to the Hualapai their near neighbors on the west. They speak a similar language, having a slight variation of dialect. Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai are dialects of a single language which is closely related to Mohave and Yuman. 197

HISTORY

Archaeologists have believed the Havasupai formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado to the east of the San Francisco Mountains where ruins may be found today. As a result of war with other tribes they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mountains subsequently leaving these for their present home. In Cataract Canyon they found plenty of water, a mild climate, and protection from the raids of more powerful tribes. Recent evidence would seem to show that this is not correct, although the information here given is to be found in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians. 174 [114]

The first written record of the Havasupai dates from 1776 when Padre Francisco Garces, a Spanish mission priest, stopped there. There was little contact of the tribe with the Americans for the next hundred years, except for an occasional visit of trappers, prospectors, and exploring parties. 175

For several years following the establishment of the reservation 175 648

175 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1892 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs. Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon, who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following 1857. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes several generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
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172 of Period V, the change was complete. No more cliff dwellings were in use. For the Cohonina three hundred peaceful years were to follow, a rest they could well appreciate.

During this period the population was small compared to that of the previous one, when it had been three hundred per cent higher. The drop was mainly due to the exodus of all but one of the foreign groups near the end of the thirteenth century. Only the Cerbat remained in small numbers, perhaps represented by scattered families. As far as can be determined, all the Cohonina lived in the canyon during the summer, but in the winter the people were probably scattered in small settlements on the plateau. Possibly there were some farming communities in the upland regions, but these could have been located only near springs, for since Period III, when full-time farming was last practiced on the plateau, an increasing aridity had made the plateau less well suited for agricultural exploitation.

The archaeological record indicates very little change during Period V, which for this reason might be termed a period of stability. There were still trade contacts and influences from the Tusayan groups to the east, and if the historic Havasupai pattern applied at this earlier date, a certain number of Cohonina may have resided among the Hopi in their pueblos east of the Little Colorado River. However, this had little effect on the Cohonina, who by this time had had enough contact with the prehistoric Hopi to have accepted all the traits they wanted.

This period of peaceful stability and low cultural intensity ended near 1600 A.D., with the first gentle impacts of Anglo-American culture

Period VI — Anglo-Diffusion

175 The gradual acquisition of American material culture characterizes Period VI. Living as they did in the seclusion of Cataract Creek Canyon, the Cohonina-Havasupai were able to avoid the sharp break which took place in the culture of so many American Indian groups at the time of contact. Although there had been Spanish expeditions into the general region as early as 1540, when Cardenas discovered the Grand Canyon, the borrowing of white traits probably did not begin until the establishment of the Franciscan missions in the Hopi country, in 1629. By 1776, when the first white man descended the canyon trail, the Havasupai had already acquired horses, cattle, and European trade cloth (Coues 1900). They had also adopted Old World plants such as apricots, figs, peaches, and alfalfa before the later white men began to frequent Havasupai territory regularly.

The culture which we have outlined for this period is that traditionally known as Havasupai, with the addition of the Anglo items. Spier's (1928) description of the Havasupai, which attempts to give a picture of this culture as it was before the new items were accepted, is thus possibly applicable to Period V.

As far as can be determined, settlements at this period were still concentrated in the canyon, with the plateau used only for winter

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953)1956
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hunting and gathering. As the whites moved into the upland area for cattle ranching, the territory of the Havasupai was gradually usurped. This movement of ranchers and farmers into the surrounding area may have forced the Apache and Yavapai to raid the Havasupai for food. On the other hand, their sporadic raiding may have been the continuation of an older pattern, on a less intensive scale.

Most of the articles of aboriginal manufacture were still being produced, such as pottery, clay pipes, stone knives, bone tools, fire drills and hearths, bows and arrows, basketry, skin clothing, etc. Three main architectural forms lasted from the preceding period: the brush structure, the rock shelter, and the talus top granary. Throughout this period many of the old customs, such as cremation, remained unchanged.

The old pattern of Hopi trade continued throughout the period, but the items which the Havasupai received shifted in part to white man's goods such as crockery, metal pans, guns, plants and cloth, replacing Hopi pottery, fabric and seed.

The main factors which caused changes in this period were the gradual increase in trade goods from the Americans and the shifts in Havasupai culture to accommodate them. The new traits were usually received through indirect contact, probably through the Hopi and the Walapai. For this reason the sixth period of Havasupai history has been termed one of diffusion, in contrast to the remainder of Havasupai history, which is characterized by acculturation.

Period VII — Anglo-Acculturation

The present period of Havasupai culture is a time of acculturation. It began with the establishment of the Havasupai Reservation in 1880, followed closely by the growth in Anglo population in the whole upland area due in part to the construction of the railroad, which reached Flagstaff about 1882. During the 80's and 90's the first popular accounts of the Havasupai began to appear (Cushing, 1882; Shufeldt, 1891; James, 1899), but the adventurers who wrote these accounts were preceded, as is usually the case, by prospectors, who unfortunately left no written records of their impressions.

In the late 1890's the federal government sent a farmer into the canyon, and shortly thereafter a school teacher. This was the beginning of intensive acculturation. The farmer introduced new and better tools, and perhaps a few modern farming methods. The first teacher and those who followed began the conversion to other parts of white culture, especially the English language. The school was also influential in changing the old pattern of plateau winter gathering, by gradually forcing the children to attend school during the winter. The increasing use of the upland area by white cattlemen also lessened its value to the Indians.

Clothing, which had already begun to change, now rapidly switched to the white man's garb, Southwestern variety. Moccasins were probably

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
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177 the last item to change. The English language has not even yet been
648 completely adopted; Havasupai is still spoken in the homes, at play,
● [175] and at work. The present teacher (1954) has complained that, for this reason, the children forget most of their English vocabulary during the summer. English will be more widely used, however, with the increasing influence of schooling, the Saturday night cowboy movies, and the radios and phonographs.

A Havasupai village established by the Park Service near the Grand Canyon National Park settlement on the plateau now forms one of the main centers of Havasupai life and acculturation. The inhabitants work
[464] either for the Park Service or for some other white firm concerned directly or indirectly with the Grand Canyon tourist business. The cash
[439] income derived from this work and from the Havasupai's own tourist
[432] trade in the canyon has radically changed their food patterns. Now they are able to, and do, buy food in the tribal store, which stocks the standard commodities. It is doubtful that canned soup or Hershey bars played a very important role in the diet of the pre-reservation Havasupai.

177 While the crop assemblage has remained approximately the same
241 as that of the previous period, the farming methods have changed considerably. For example, a tractor is now used in the canyon to plow the fields. It was packed down the narrow trails piece by piece, as was the electric power plant which supplies current to the school and other government buildings.

177 The big flood of 1910, which washed out most of the farms and
943 homes of the canyon, brought from the government relief in the form
648 of small wooden frame houses. Indirectly, this caused the extinction of the talus top granary. After the flood the old brush dwellings were rebuilt and the new frame houses were used for storage, since they were supposedly too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer for living purposes. A few individuals, however, have adopted the plan of the frame house and have built stone houses, using modern techniques. This form may become the common dwelling of the future.

177 The suspension of crematory activities also began soon after the
765 government invaded the canyon. The old pattern was gradually re-
648 placed by the extended burial, which is universally practiced today.

174 The acculturation of the Havasupai, which is by no means complete,
177 took place first by the diffusion of traits into the canyon through the Hopi and Walapai, then by the selected introduction of white culture through the government workers, and finally by individual contact with whites at the Grand Canyon National Park village and elsewhere. These processes have increasingly accelerated the change of an aboriginal people to potentially full-time participants in Anglo culture and society.

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THE HAVASUPAIS, PEOPLE OF CATARACT CANYON[1]

Richard Emerick

The American Southwest is known the world over for its unique, colorful, almost frightening beauty and there is no more awe-inspiring part of it than the Grand Canyon country in northern Arizona. Here, in the past ten million years or so, the Colorado River and some of its tributaries have carved a mile-deep wonderland into the Kaibab Plateau. The place is a network of canyons with the majestic Grand Canyon itself at its center. Nearly all of these gorges are being cut by intermittent streams born of the melting snows and summer cloudbursts. Therefore, throughout most of the year the floors of nearly all of them are dry and desert-like. One of these chasms, however, is richly green, for through it, from an inexhaustible source, flows a small but bounteous stream. This oasis is called Cataract Canyon and it has been the home of the Havasupai Indians for hundreds of years.

In historic times, at least, the Havasupais have certainly lived where they do now—in and around Cataract Canyon. The early Spanish records make frequent reference to such people as the Coninas, Cosninos and Coconinos living in this same region. There is every reason to believe that many of these references, by names which are corruptions of a Hopi expression for their western neighbors, were to the Havasupais. The legends of these people, when correlated with what is known of the pre-Columbian history of the southwest, indicates that they have inhabited the Grand Canyon country since perhaps as early as 800 A.D.

The first positive record of the Havasupais was made by the Franciscan missionary, Padre Francisco Tomas Garces, who, on June 20th, 1776, was guided into Cataract Canyon by a party of Walapais. His diary tells us that the people he found there were extremely friendly and, in fact, they attended him so royally and fed him so well that he remained five days.

1 I wish to extend my thanks to the Anthropology Department of the University of Pennsylvania for financial assistance with research in the summer of 1953.

175 487 days. The good Padre's brief, but vivid, account of his passage into the canyon from the plateau above anticipates most of the subsequent descriptions of this journey, for it presents a picture of incredibly tortuous trails hanging over horrible abysses. Few visitors to Cataract Canyon have been willing to confess that they did not risk their lives getting there. It is true that some three thousand feet of rock walls surround the canyon floor, but the trails, though rough, are adequate for foot and horse travel. Passing in and out of the canyon is no lark to be sure, but neither is it as grueling an experience as it has often been pictured. It is far more fatiguing than frightening.

131 487 Throughout the literature on Cataract Canyon, especially that of a more popular nature, the isolation of this place is always emphasized. It may seem so to outsiders, but not to those who live here, for there are at least a dozen trails from the plateau to the village in the canyon called Supai. In aboriginal times, of course, they needed to be suitable only for foot travel, but, since white contact, seven of them have been modified for horse trails. They range in length from eight to fifty miles. Not all of them are constantly maintained, but the Indians are never limited only to the two trails by which most of the outsiders enter and leave. The foot trails are all relatively short, the longest being only three and one-half miles. All of them, however, begin from points on the plateau which are extremely difficult to reach by automobile and are, therefore, restricted to occasional use by the Indians only.

487 The visitor today may approach Cataract Canyon either from Grand Canyon or from Peach Springs on the Walapai Reservation. Grand Canyon may be reached by railroad and Highway 66 passes through Peach Springs. At Grand Canyon one may get a ride with the Indian mailman to Topacoba Hilltop over a road that is hardly a road at all. Twice a week mail is taken by truck from the Grand Canyon post office to Hilltop where it is exchanged for mail coming from Supai. At Hilltop the letters and packages (and visitors, unless they choose to walk) are loaded upon horses and mules. The animals are then turned loose and they dutifully follow the fourteen-mile trail to the village below.

If one chooses to take the Peach Springs route, it is over sixty miles from this little town to Walapai Hilltop, the other point on the rim of the canyon where it is necessary to trade wheels for hoofs. The road

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE HAVESU-PAI INDIANS.

BY

R. W. SHUFELDT, M. D.

(With Plates XXV, XXVI.)

Several years ago when the writer had the opportunity of studying some of the tribes of our Indians in the southwest, especially those found in northwestern New Mexico and over the adjacent boundary of Arizona, he met with Mr. Benj. Wittick, formerly a photographer in the employ of the U. S. Geological Survey, who was making a collection of photographs of the Indians of that region. He had visited that least known tribe of Arizona Indians, the Havesu-pai, of the so-called Su-pai Cañon, and had obtained some excellent pictures of them. I was so fortunate as to secure prints of Mr. Wittick's photographs of that race. As we have no good illustrations of those people that I am aware of, it is hoped that the two plates we are enabled to reproduce here of them will be found useful to the anthropologist.

In every sense of the word the Havesu-pais are a dying race. There is but a remnant of them now in existence; I have heard it said, less than two hundred. They exist in one of the grandest cañons in all Arizona, living in their primitive lodges along the bank of the stream that passes through it. Upon looking up such matter as had been written upon this departing tribe of Indians, I found it to be exceeding meager; indeed there is little or nothing known about them. From the very inaccessible place of their abode they have been very rarely seen, and only on few occasions by scientific men. Mr. Albert S. Gatschet of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution confirmed this opinion, and said that those Indians were known in former times by the name of "Koxoninos," or "Cochnichnos," but that they were the "Cosninos" of the Moquis of Arizona. Properly they should be known by the name that the Yumas call them, that is the Havesu-pai, or Avésu-pai, meaning the "down below people, or a tribe or race that live down in the cañon." "Páya, pái," being "all, people." They themselves claim to be descended from the Wolapai.

In Vol. III of the Pacific Railroad Reports, Whipple barely alludes to them. On page 80 of that work he states that "upon old Spanish

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maps the San Francisco mountain is represented as belonging to the continuous Mogollon chain, which comes from the east southeast, and was called Sierra de los Cosninos, the name of a tribe of Indians inhabiting this region. I am under the impression that Leroux, the early explorer in that part of the country was finally murdered by the Cosninos, but I do not remember that the account has ever been printed." Whipple also refers to the "Cosnino caves," remarking that "the Cosnino caves had been plastered with mortar, showing more artistic skill than is practiced by the present occupants of the country" (*loc. cit.*, p. 15). And again on page 19 he goes to show that, taken collectively, the Pontos, Cosninos, and Yampais together number 6,000 souls; of these 2,000 were Yampais (p. 17). But all this is very brief and unsatisfactory. 195 114

Capt. John G. Bourke in his work on "The Snake-dance of the Moquis of Arizona" (1884), says, "At Keam's ranch we met Mr. Alexander Steven, a bright Scotchman who during the past 12 years has had considerable experience as a metallurgist and mining prospector in Nevada and Utah. He gave me a thrilling account of his journey westward to the country of the Cohoninos, a tribe of Indians living in the cañon of Cataract Creek, near its junction with the Grand Cañon of the Colorado in this Territory.

"They number only from forty to fifty warriors, live in the cliffs in winter, and build 'wickyups' or sapling lodges in summer. They say that the Hualpais (Wolapais), Apache-Mojaves, and themselves are all one people—Cohoninos—but that *their* proper designation is the "Ah-Supai. 175 101 [342]

"They raise an abundance of finest peaches, good corn and melons, and weave unusually fine and beautiful baskets. They are great hunters, and eke out a living by trading off buckskins, and sometimes mountain lion pelts, to the Moquis, Navajos, and Apaches. 175 [241] [285] [439]

"The cañon in which they dwell is 4,500 feet deep, and is that of the Cataract Creek, a strong body of clear water tumbling by a series of cascades into the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, 1,500 feet still deeper, and separated from their village by a series of blood-curdling precipices and chasms" (pp. 80, 81). Captain Bourke, in speaking of the Moquis, says further, that "Intimate commercial relations are maintained with the Cohoninos or Ava-Supais on the west (*loc. cit.*, p. 254). [133] [439]

In a lecture before the National Academy of Sciences, delivered in Washington, April 22, 1882, Mr. Frank H. Cushing in referring to the Zunians said, "Interesting among the hero-gods is the great priest of all religious orders save that of the bow, *Poskai Anˀia*. In the days of the new, yet not until after men had begun their journey toward the east, he is supposed to have appeared among the ancestors of the Zuñis, the Taos, the Coconinos, and the Moqui Indians, so poor and ill-clad as to have been ridiculed by mankind." This lecture was afterwards published in The Popular Science Monthly, of New York (1882, p. 191). 114 793

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● 175 Mr. Cushing's best account of these people, however, is published in another connection, wherein he relates how he made a long and dangerous journey from Moqui to the Supai Cañon.*

Following his description of hazardous descent into that fearful gorge, Cushing goes on to say in his article, that "the first Ha-va-su-pai I saw
[291] may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched a
[133] green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as we rode along the river trail; these glimpses,
[241] however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows
[312] or fences of cottonwood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed and recrossed by a net work of irrigating canals and trails. Here and
[342] there were little cabins, or shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches, while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky fires."

[86] "The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great southwest."

"When we again caught sight of our Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to run forward and warn the tribe—whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below—of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with sort of a questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eyeing me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the
114 175 party."

[756] The only other facts of importance given in this narrative are that
[515] those Indians have their medicine men and use the "sweat house," a
[231] plan of treatment seen among many other tribes. They have a great number of dogs about their village, and many of the families are blessed
[648] with from five to six children. They are, so far as the writer is aware, upon excellent terms of friendship with the whites. I am not aware

*Cushing, Frank Hamilton. "The Nation of the Willows." The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1882, pp. 362–374. The quotation I make is from page 374.

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114 that Mr. Cushing has published anything further upon these very in-
115 teresting people, although he was evidently among them for several days and must have in that time amassed some considerable information.

This is absolutely all the information of any importance that I have been enabled to get together about these Indians, and Mr. Gatschet has informed me that it is about all that has ever been written.

Science in general, and anthropology in particular, I must believe, would be well repaid could a good and active anthropologist live with these Indians for a month or more and gather up everything there is to be known about them.

114 The styles of their lodges and their architecture are well shown in my two plates. We can also see other objects there worthy of our attention, as the varied costumes of the men, women, and children, as well as the peculiar forms of their curious baskets lying about. Further, in Pl. II, it is interesting to note the fashion of fixing the hair in the women
[[71]] and in the girls; it would seem that it pointed to affinities with the Pueblan Indians.

12: Cushing E-5 (1881) 1882
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THE NATION OF The Willows.

II.

THE HOME OF THE NATION.

●175 More than three hundred years ago, one of Coronado's lieutenants, at the head of a little band of soldiers, crossed, to the northward, the deserts beyond the province of Tusayan, and after many days came to the brink of a tremendous chasm, which the modern explorations of Major Powell have shown to be, in some places, more than a mile in depth. These Spanish adventurers were worn out with exertion, famished for want of water, and foot-sore, as nearly all of their animals had perished. They paused upon the brink, unable to descend, unable to slake their burning thirst in the waters of the river, which, as they described it, "though grand, looked like a thread of silver, so deep down was it." This river they named El Rio Tizon, but afterward it was called the Rio Colorado Grande, a name which it still retains.

131 The Nation of the Willows make their home in one of the side cañons of this great river, near the middle of the western half of the Grand Colorado Plateau, in the gorge of Cataract Creek, a natural cellar (if we may be permitted the comparison), half a mile in depth. That portion in which their village stands is only seven miles due south from the Grand Cañon, and about one hundred and fifteen, as the crow flies, north from Prescott, Arizona. A glance at any good map will convince the unversed reader that Cataract Creek Cañon is almost in the centre of an immense desert, — desert only because of the absence of perennial water, but covered by a grand growth of pines, piñons, cedars, and junipers, and by flowering plants and luxuriant grasses of many

[137]

[P. 541 A] varieties.

[pp. 375 – 540 not processed

101 their immediate neighbors were, before their removal to the San Carlos agencies, the Apache Mojaves and Apache Yumas. Both, in common with the Hua-la-pai, their relatives by blood and tongue, were formerly their inveterate enemies. The Hua-la-pai now remain nominally neutral, although occasionally aggressive and thieving. Further to the north were the Utes; to the west, the Chemehuevas; to the southwest, the Mojaves, Pimas, Maricopas, and Coco Maricopas; to the south, the White Mountain Apaches. These were the only tribes they knew, with the exception of their distant eastern neighbors, the Moquis and Zuñis, and the still more distant Navajos and Pueblos of the Rio Grande. Separated from the Ha-va-su-paí by the terrible waterless wastes I have described, the Moquis and Zuñis have nevertheless been their constant visitors for generations. Doubtless, the latter guided Coronado's lieutenant to the great cañon, which turned him southward to new sufferings and discoveries. Certain it is that the Ha-va-su-paí have been vaguely spoken of by the name of the Coçoninos by the Spaniards, and their descendants the Mexicans.

175 It was not until the expeditions of Captain Sitgreaves and Lieutenant Ives were undertaken, some thirty years ago, that anything came to be definitely known of the Coçoninos. Sitgreaves tells of the theft of some mules from his party by a band of "Cosninos;" and a daring doctor of the Ives expedition, almost famished for want of water, records how he nearly lost his life in attempting to descend a ladder, on the western trail, which, breaking, precipitated him several feet upon a rock-shelf, whence he was drawn up by his companions with a rope improvised from the straps of their packs. He saw, far below, some Indians, he says, and smoke from their huts. But the first white man who tells us anything of their actual home lives only as the nameless char-

175 acter of a frontier and Indian tradition; a strange adventurer he, who, possibly 648 in search of mineral treasure, was driving about the Colorado Plateau in a buckboard, the remains of which may yet be seen, it is said, at the head of the eastern trail. Lost and nearly exhausted, he sought water and refuge in the cañon, and came upon the Ha-va-supaí village; he narrowly escaped with his life, to tell his tale only to incredulous frontiersmen, and then to pass out of knowledge.

Some six or seven years ago, a party of prospectors, three in number, headed by the adventuresome Mooney, penetrated the cañon, in search of mineral. Mooney's survivors, unable to reach his body, returned to Prescott to tell the story, not only of their comrade's death, but also of the mineral riches they had discovered, and of the strange people, whom they called "Su-pais," that they had seen. An article in the Arizona Miner, narrating these things, caused other visits of prospectors to this country. The Mormons attracted by their characteristic zeal for the conversion of Indians, made an expedition to the cañon, under the leadership of the celebrated Lee. The Indians received the little band of Saints suspiciously, and listened gravely to their preaching; then, rising, escorted them to the trail leading out of the cañon, and directed them on their way, but assured them that their visit might be repeated only under penalty of death.

648 The attention of General O. B. Wil-
657 cox, commander of the Department of Arizona, having been drawn to the Ha-va-su-paí by the reports of prospectors and others, he feared disturbance for their lands, as well as for the safety of citizens visiting them; and, with characteristic kindness, he secured for them in 1880 the declaration of a reservation. He organized a cavalry expedition to survey this reservation during the season of my visit. This, under command of